1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

slayer is assimilating some of the courage and fierceness of his victim, though it must be remembered that the liver is regarded as the seat of fear as well as of these more warlike emotions, and, indeed, it is presumably by his very deficiency in these latter that the victim was unable to look after his liver.

The tabu on the flesh of the slain applies not only to the slayer but to his father, mother, and nearest relatives. If they were rash enough to partake, their genitalia would swell, their joints grow crooked, and their heads turn bald. (Though in the case of an old man, it was said that these results need not be feared.) In view of such alarming risks it seems likely that there was in the person of the slain something like infection to that of the slayer. Other details confirm this view. The Orokaiva has a lively dread of *baupeni* (or elephantiasis of the scrotum) and swelling of the joints—both of which afflictions are seen in the Division. The slayer immediately removed his *bo*, or perineal band, and wore a leaf or nothing until he reached home and could effect a change of clothing: this was a precaution against *baupeni*. If he had dispatched the victim with a club he would straightway change this for another man's: on no account would he *shoulder* the club that struck the fatal blow, for he would run a risk of a swollen or distorted shoulder-joint.

Again the slayer must perform certain rites and observe certain tabus. He must not drink pure water out of the river, but only that which has been stirred up and made muddy by the feet of a non-slayer. He must not eat taro cooked in the pot, but only that which has been roasted in the open fire. He must abstain from sexual intercourse. These restrictions lasted for a few days and then the slayer ate the same purificatory stew (*suna*) which is given to initiates at the end of their seclusion (see p. 193). Among the Binandele I witnessed a mock demonstration of a peculiar rite which immediately preceded the eating of the *suna*. The slayer climbs into a small tree which contains a nest of those large and aggressive insects commonly called 'green' ants. The tree should properly be of the kind called *Bobo*, which

2: Williams . E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

754 is always an object of dread to them. The procedure is evidently well enough known, for there is no attempt at secrecy and the group of informants and onlookers is a large one. But it must be understood that the specific (in this case called *inja*) is professedly unknown. Not one of the group will admit that he is able to inflict this dreadful deformity on any other man; he knows how to go about the nefarious work, but he does not know the specific which would make the work really effective.

By way of demonstration an old man, taking some leaf at random to represent the *bau peni* specific, scrapes fragments of it into another leaf. As he does so he groans and writhes, muttering audible complaints of the pain in his testicles and declaring that he is a dying man. This is in imitation of the victim when he begins to feel the pain of the attack. Having wrapped up the leaf which contains the scrapings into a little parcel, the sorcerer saves some of the remaining *inja* and takes his opportunity of rubbing it on the mat where his prospective victim is sure to sit. Then he goes off and conceals the small package in one of those nests of termites called *siriho*. This *siriho*, usually found in the fork of a tree, takes the form of an irregular ball of woody substance and may be in size equal to a football. It bears sufficient resemblance, even in point of cubic capacity, to the swollen scrotum with which the unhappy victim is to be burdened.

Now the work of the sorcerer is for the time being complete. The victim will have sat on his mat, and thus, so to speak, the circuit is made complete and the *inja* may be relied upon to do its work unaided. Only one thing can arrest the hypertrophy to which the victim is now doomed, and that is for the sorcerer to relent, to abstract the parcel of *inja* from the *siriho* and cast it into the water. After that he may himself treat the patient by the ordinary methods of blowing and massage, and recovery is assured.

754 164 A process somewhat similar could bring about the elephantiasis of the lower limbs which is seen fairly

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

commonly in the north. A medicine (professedly, and I have no doubt really, unknown to my informants) is set on the track where the doomed man is expected to pass. He simply steps over it: that is enough. Then it is stuffed into the pulpy interior of a large banana-like plant called *Supi*. The characteristic of *Supi* is its tremendously swollen trunk, which is not only clumsy and bulging, but for some reason curiously ugly. The similarity to the terribly deformed limbs of elephantiasis is rather gruesomely apparent.

In such practices as these we see a more or less incomplete representation of the desired result. There seems to be a sort of fantastic reasonableness about them. But it may be argued that any native explanation of this reasonableness is a secondary development, and it is doubtful if the native explanation, such as it is, would bring us very near the truth. The actual origin of the practices is impulsive and unthinking. By repetition they may become set, and so in the mere performance of them there will be thought to exist some taken-for-granted efficacy. But the rationale is an afterthought. Indeed, the rationale is often conspicuous by its absence. We should be wrong in assuming that there is a reason in logic for all magical processes; and to search overmuch for it is to merit the disappointment of the alchemist, or perhaps to discover only some counterfeit theory of our own making, some product of the 'psychologist's fallacy'.

As originally impulsive and truly spontaneous it may be said that the fundamental element in magic consists just in desiring the result, but desiring it in the particular way (viz. without any solid, matter-of-fact basis) which we call *wishing* or *hoping*. One might go so far as to say that whoever hopes against hope, whoever dreams by day or builds castles in the air, has already made magic in his heart. Any emotion or blend of emotions may enter into the hope—hunger, anger, lust, revenge, or whatever other. When we are indulging a wish or a false hope and are enjoying a premature imaginary satisfaction

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

753 It is not to be supposed that a native will always be able to set down his ideas of disease and its causes under logical headings, but I have often enough found the above threefold classification implied and sometimes expressed. One man, for instance, who practised as a healer or expeller of diseases, classified the causes as follows: (1) heat, strain, cold, and the like, where a man is said to sicken '*teho*', i.e. 'by himself' or 'for nothing'; (2) the entry of injurious substances; (3) the attack of *sovai*; and (4) the use of *inja*, i.e. the sorcerer's specific. His first two divisions will, in the main, coincide with our first class, viz. casual diseases.

Casual Diseases.

● [164] Orokaiva natives, like others in the Territory, probably suffer to some considerable extent from malaria. They are certainly afflicted by headaches and attacks of fever. When the colder winds from the south-east, called *pishi*, spring up, they learn to expect these attacks. They call them *ambu isapo*, or 'small sickness', and usually regard them as natural occurrences with no ulterior causes, such as that of a visitation from the *sovai*, or the malice of a sorcerer. So again we find a doctor attributing a man's sickness to a drenching from the rain; or in another case to working in his garden through the hottest part of the day; in another to over-exerting himself by carrying two small pigs tied to a pole across his shoulder. Such straightforward ailments, besides being called *ambu isapo*, 'small sicknesses', are sometimes spoken of as *memei*, which means 'ache' or 'pain'; and in the generality of cases they are accepted without question as natural phenomena, the transient ills to which all flesh is heir.

753 It is interesting to note that in the last instance quoted
755 a doctor discovered (by means of a method of extraction to be described presently) several fragments of a pig's larger intestine in the patient's body. This affords an example of the very common view which has been referred to already, viz. that disease or sickness is an intrusive element. It is true that the doctor in question subsequently discovered a variety of other tell-tale fragments and offered a number of